/22/

191
184

| | Miao Words of Yai district | Miao Words of Lin-kao district |
|---|---|---|
| one | ji | a |
| two | in | i |
| three | dam | to |
| four | se | ti |
| five | ngn | ta |
| six | luk | cho |
| ear | | nann |
| eye | | ngan |
| mouth | | yup |
| nose | | cham |

## /23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

### 101 1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

121 361 The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced
133 to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of
[131 Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly
361] limited their agricultural development. However, the dense moun-
221 tain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

/23 cont'd/
133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

## 2. Agriculture

241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
[171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

/127/

## Appendix

## Journal of the Investigation

Q1 A complete journal of the investigation of the Li and Miao has already been included in the author's Report of an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. The following excerpt, covering the period from the 18th day of the second month to the 15th day of the third month (1937), is given here because this particular section is related to the investigation of the Miao, and the reader may use it as a reference for the main article.

### Second month, eighteenth day. (Thursday)

● 133 At eleven o'clock in the morning, with Wang Chao-i's younger brother, Chao-ch'in, as guide, the investigation party set out from Pao-t'ing for Ta-ch'i, with 22 hired bearers to carry the baggage and a horse borrowed from Wang Hsün so that we could take turns riding. As we left the city gates, an uneven ridge of mountains rose and fell before our eyes, but Mount Ch'i Chih /"Seven Fingers"/ stood out as especially imposing, with its peaks visible from afar, sticking up like seven fingers, from which it has received its name. As we proceeded along the way, there was nothing but mountain paths, which were steep, rugged, and difficult to negotiate. By three o'clock in the afternoon we had passed the Chiu Ch'ü mountains, which were precipitous and dangerous, and we puffed from our exertions in climbing them, and when we reached the summit, all the mountains lay spread out at our feet, and we could see for a distance of hundreds of miles.

On either side of a narrow defile lay luxuriant growths of primeval forests, which could truly become an inexhaustible source of wealth if scientific methods and management were used. Passing over from the front to the rear of the mountains, the road was short and actually wound back and forth nine times.

/127 cont'd/

●133 The configuration of the terrain was so steep and dangerous that one could truly say that "a single man defending it could withstand 10,000 of the enemy." I learned that Mr. Wang's father, Wang I, had been ambushed and murdered here. When we had crossed the [492] mountains, I was exhausted and tried to ride the horse instead of walking. /128/ I had never ridden a horse before and sitting on its back, I swayed back and forth and was in constant danger of falling off. As the road was so steep and rugged, I finally felt that it was too dangerous to ride, so I had to dismount and go on foot. At five o'clock we arrived at Ta-ch'i and went to Wang Chao-i's house to spend the night.

In Ta-ch'i Li, Ch'i, Hsiao, and Miao all live together, and it was really an ideal place for investigation. Wang Chao-i's house was situated on top of a small hill, and in front of it was a fish pond and a vegetable garden. On all four sides were cultivated fields and beyond the fields lay the hamlets of the various groups; still farther on were countless rows of mountains. Looking down from this height, there were boundless vistas of scenery, the beauty of which could hardly be equaled. The house was made of rows of bricks and was unusually sturdy, and beside it was a stone house; its interior arrangements were lovely, almost comparable to that of an upper-class Chinese home. As I looked at it while leaning against the balustrade, a floating vision of the feudal castles of medieval Europe came before my eyes.

Second month, nineteenth day. (Friday)

124 Today a funeral service in a Ch'i-Li family was being held in the neighboring village of Yen-sheng, and at eleven o'clock in the morning, after an early meal, we went there to watch. We also visited Huang Kung-ch'ing, the *t'uan* trustee of the Yen-sheng *t'uan*, whose two sons had once studied at the Chiang-ts'un Normal School in Canton. At Huang's house, we also met Li Hsi-ch'ing, a merchant from Lo-hui district, who told us that his father had come here to trade. Later on he inherited his father's business, and with his good

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●

Chart of position of Maps
of Illustration 1.

| | |
|---|---|
| p. 48a | p. 48c |
| p. 48b | p. 48d |

/25 cont./

*101 Vertical distribution. — What is called vertical distribution
131 refers to the complex topography of Yunnan and Indo-China,
●133 for the most part consisting of precipitous mountains and deep
167 valleys and ravines. The peoples who come from various directions are greatly limited by their past geographical
361 environments and look for areas most suited to their needs. The Pai-i live at the bottom of deep valleys. The Lolo mountain dwellers dread and avoid the lowlands. Therefore, the vertical distribution of the southwestern peoples of the various provinces follow definite zones just like the life zones of plants. The old home of the Miao was in Kweichow, about 1,000 meters above sea level on the average. The better mountain slopes in the southwestern provinces were already selected by the various mountain-dwelling peoples who came earlier. The Miao, who came later, could only get to live on the mountain peaks. Therefore their vertical distribution is very high, and they become known as the "Kao Shan Miao /high-mountain Miao/."

/26/ CHAPTER THREE

## THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIAO FRONTIER COUNTRY

131
133 Location. — The sphere of the Miao frontier country, according to the full map of the Miao frontier in Miao Fang-pei Lan /A Look at Miao Defenses/ by Yen Ju-yü published in the twenty-fifth year of the Chia Ching reign period (1820), is within the area bounded by the Yüan Chiang River in the west, the Yu Chiang River in the south, the Ch'en Chiang River in the north, and the Hunan-Kweichow boundary in the east (Illus. 1).[1] This area is bound by water on three sides in the north, east, and south, and screened by high mountains in the west, forming a natural area (Illus. 2).[2]

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 48a-d. — ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p48e - " ]

/26 cont./

● 133 Mountain ranges. — The most important mountain is the La-erh Shan. The section "Hsien Yao K'ao /Strategic Posts/" in Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "The Great La-erh Shan is situated 70 li to the west of the city (Feng-huang) and is more than ten li high. The mountain appears enormous, astride the two provinces of Hupeh and Kweichow. In the east Ya-yu, Hiang-shang /pronounced K'ang-shang in the north/, in the south Li-lin and Yu-ni, in the west K'ang-chin and Hsiu-nao, and in the north Hu-lu and Kan-tzu-yao, are all branches of this
[361] mountain, spreading over an area of more than a hundred li, where there are many Miao villages. Hence, old chronicles ofter refer to the defeat of the Miao in Hupeh and Kweichow as being in the La-erh Shan." The La-erh Shan begins at Cheng-ta-ying, Kweichow, from where it extends irregularly to the middle of the Miao area, where a fault occurred, form-
[361] ing a plateau. This plateau is dotted with Miao villages, whose inhabitants defend themselves by taking advantage of the
[101] favorable terrain. It has always been known as the den of the Sheng Miao /"the uncivilized Miao," i.e. those who have not been brought under Chinese administration/.

Rivers. — The main courses of the Yüan, the Yu, and the Ch'en rivers flow only along the borders of the Miao frontier region. The most important rivers within this area are all tributaries of these three rivers, the largest of which is the Wu Ch'i, a tributary of the Yüan Chiang, and also known as the T'ung Ho. This branch extends deep into the Miao area and has three sources: the Wu-ch'ao Ho (Illus. 4)[1] in the west, the Wan-yung Chiang in the middle, and the Kao-yen Ho (Illus. 5)[2] in the north. The Wu-ch'ao Ho rises at Hsiao-t'ien-hsing-chai /village/ in Feng-huang, and flows westward to where the Niang-shui-t'o, and the Lung-chüeh-t'ung tributaries joint it. Further westward it passes Ta-hsin-chai and flows around Shang-hsia-yüan-hou-chai, veering southward to where the Ma-chung and the Hsiao-feng-huang-ying tributaries joint it from the east. It then flows southeastward, passing through Ma-ching-t'an and around Sheng-hua-shao to where the T'i

[1], [2] [See cat. 116, p49 - ANALYST]

/26 cont./

133 Ch'i and the Pe-yen Chiang tributaries flow from the northwest to join it. Further east it flows around Feng-huang-hsien city, becoming known as the T'o Chiang. (Illus. 18)[1] Again, it flows east to the east side of the city where the Hsin-ti Ch'i tributary flows from the west and joins it. Then it flows northeastward to Lui-kungt'ung where the Wan-ken Ch'i tributary flows from the north to join it. Further, it flows northeastward to Ch'i-k'ou where it receives the Hsiao-ch'i Shui. Further northeastward it flows to Mao-chou, entering Lu Ch'i, to Hsia-Lao-Hu-K'ou, where it is joined by the Tz'u and Chung tributaries at Chiang-chün-yen. Further northeast it empties into the Wan-yung Chiang at Ho-ch'i. Rising at Ta-t'ien-hsing-chai, the Wan-yung Chiang flows south around Yen-k'ou-hsin to /Illus. 1-5 are between pp. 26 and 28/ /28/ Mu-li-hsin, then veers east to receive the Hsi-men Chiang tributary at Lao-p'o-t'an. It flows northeastward again around San-hio-yen, passing through Lung-kun-ying to Kan-tzu-shao, where the streams from the Ch'üeh-ju-chai area flow from the southeast to join it. Then it flows northeast to Kan-ch'eng, where the Wu Ch'i tributary flows from the east to join it. From then on it is called the Wu Ch'i. Further east it receives the Ya Ch'i tributary at Ya Ch'i. Still further east at Chang-p'ai it merges with the Kao-yen Ho. The Kao-yen Ho rises from Ta-hsiao-lung-t'ung (Illus. 6) at Yung-sui, merging with the Ch'ao Shui, the Lao-chai, and the Huang-t'u, and flowing to Kao-yen, where it becomes navigable by small craft. It flows eastward to Hsiao-ch'ung where it is joined by the Hsiao-ch'ung Ch'i. Then eastward it passes through Wei-che where it is joined by the P'ing-lang Ch'i from the south. Still flowing east /Illus. 6 appears here/ /29/ it is joined by the Lü T'ung and other rivers from the south at Ch'i-t'ou-hsin. Further east it receives the Chen Ch'i and the Hsin-chai Ch'i rivers at Chen-ch'i-so. Southeastward it merges with the Wu Ch'i tributary at Chang-p'ai-chai, and over ten li further to the southeast it joins the T'o Chiang at Ch'i-k'ou, becoming known there as the T'ung Ho. It flows eastward to Nan-mu-ch'iao, where it receives the Nan Mu Ch'i from the north. Continuing east it receives the

[1] [See cat. 116, p 72 - ANALYST] [text continues on p50]

[2] [ " " ", p50 - " ]

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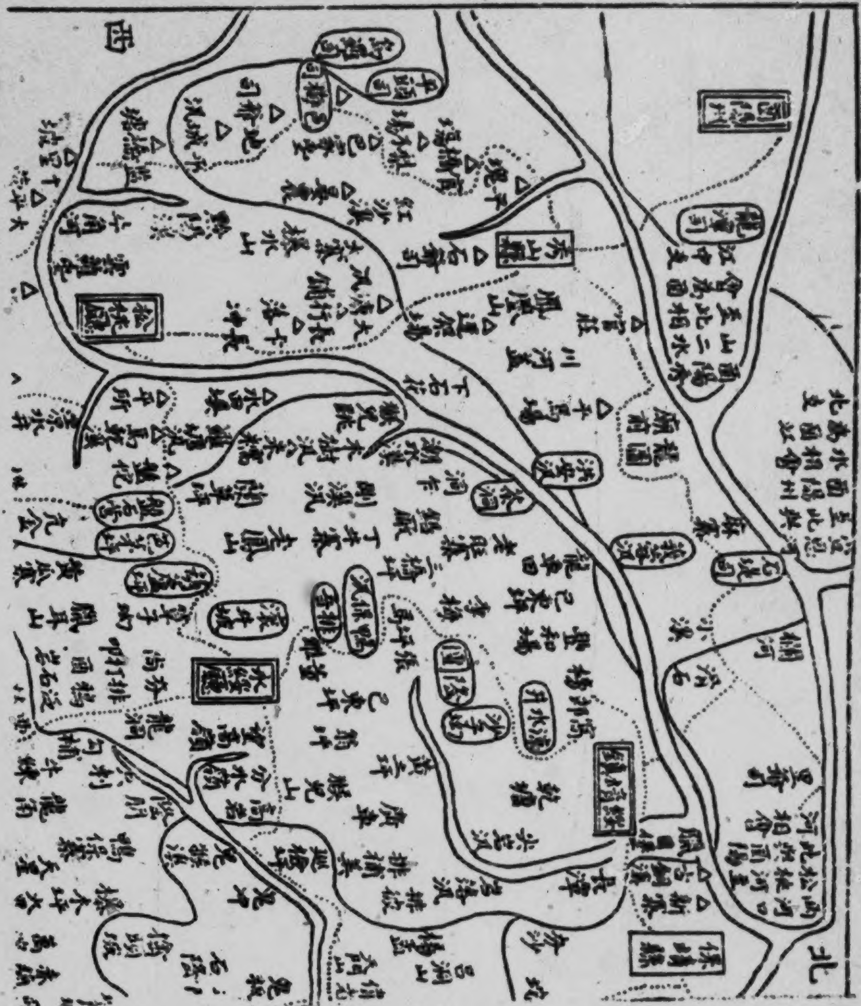
Upper left


北
西
保靖縣
永綏廳
松桃廳
秀山縣
酉陽州

Illus. 1. Full Map of the Miao Frontier (according to Miao Fang-pei Lan by Yen Ju-yü)

Lower left

2:Ling & Ruey--48b E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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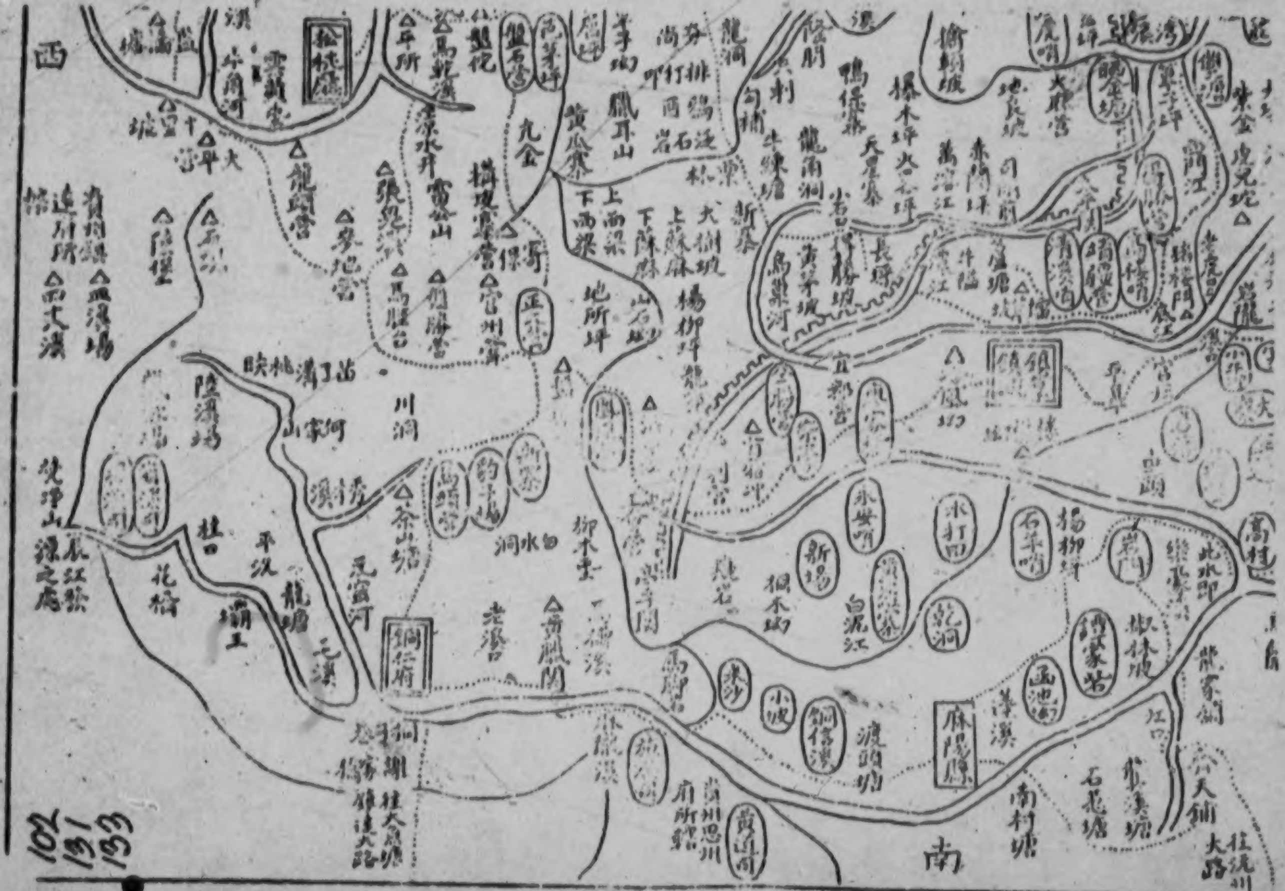
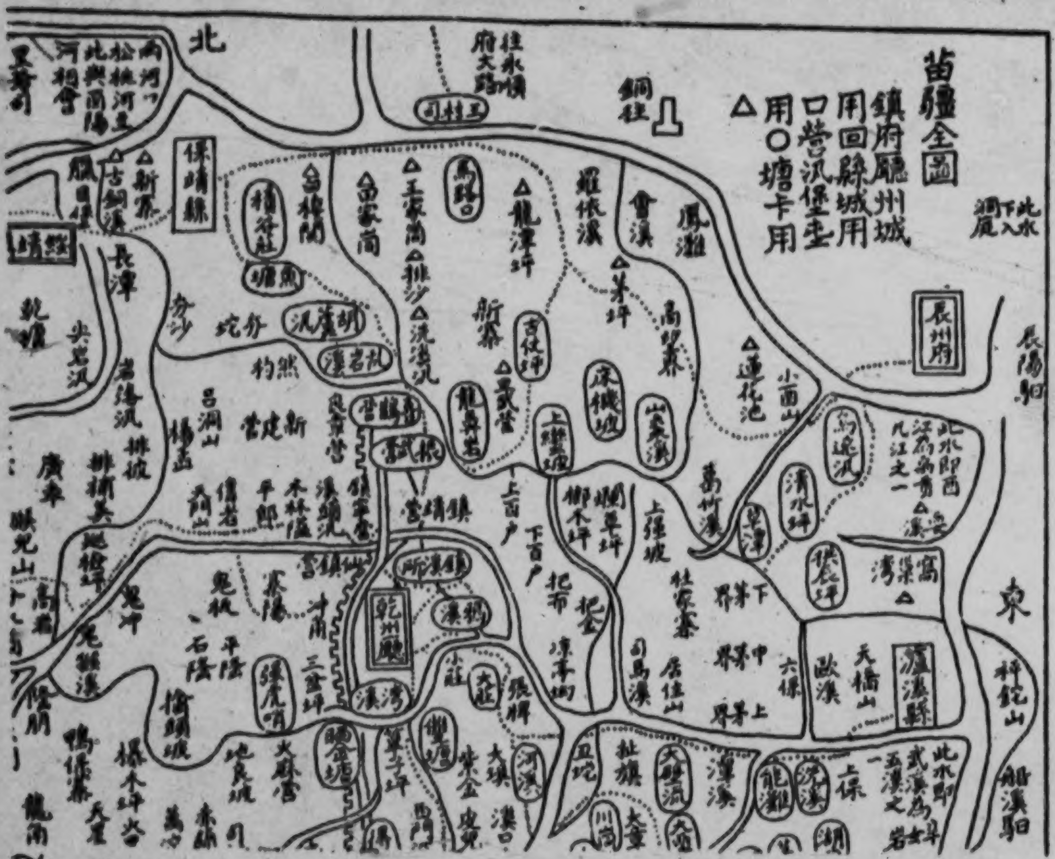

西
南
松桃廳
銅仁府
麻陽縣
鎮筸
梵淨山源之處
辰江發
九全
永安哨
水打田
石羊哨
楊柳坪
新場
乾洞
白泥江
龍角洞
鴨保寨
長坪
烏巢河
高村
大營
江口
石花塘
南村塘
渡頭坊
大路

Upper right



苗疆全圖
鎮府廳州城
用回縣城用
口營汛堡壘
用○塘卡用
△
北
東
銅仁
保靖縣
乾州廳
瀘溪縣
長陽驛
船溪驛

2:Ling & Ruey--48c E-5 (1933) 1947 AES Miao AES

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Lower right

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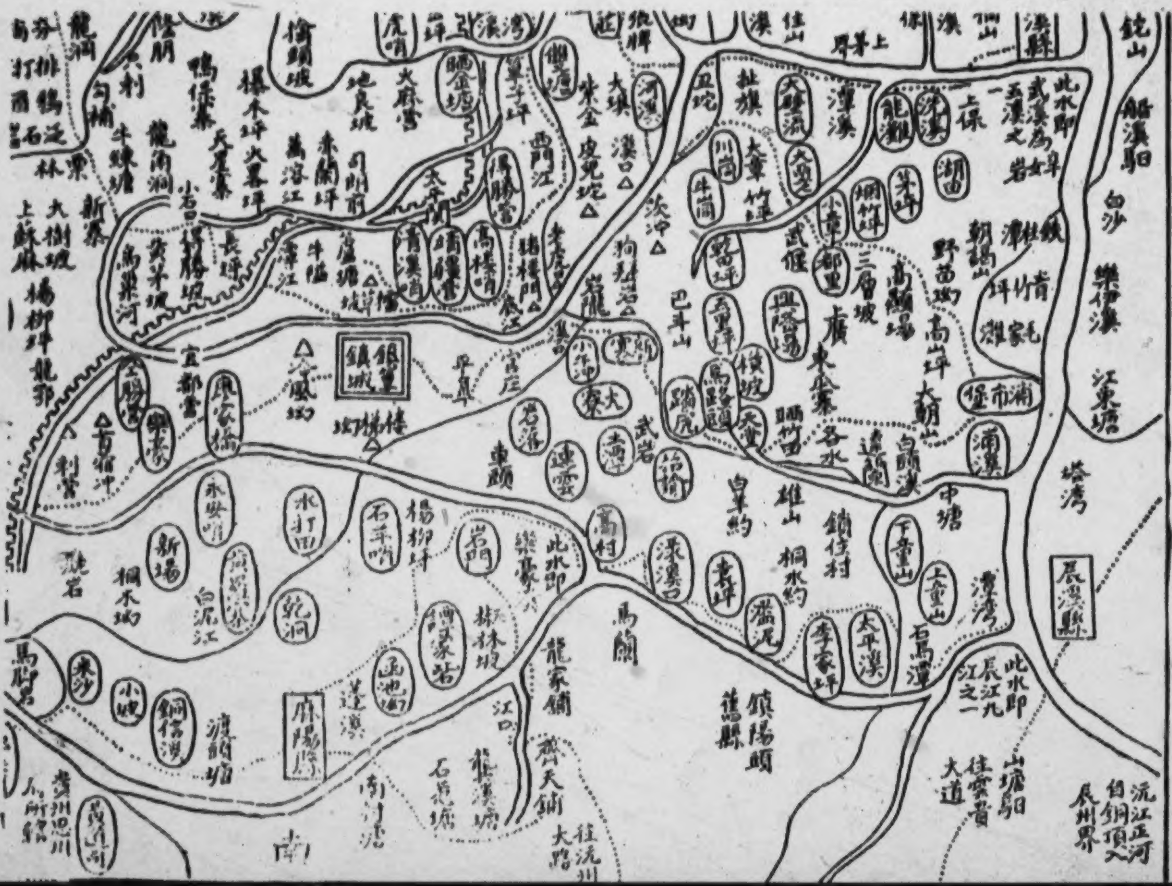

辰溪縣
麻陽縣
鎮筸城
鎮陽頭
舊縣
此水即辰江九江之一
往沅州大路

2:Ling & Ruey--48d E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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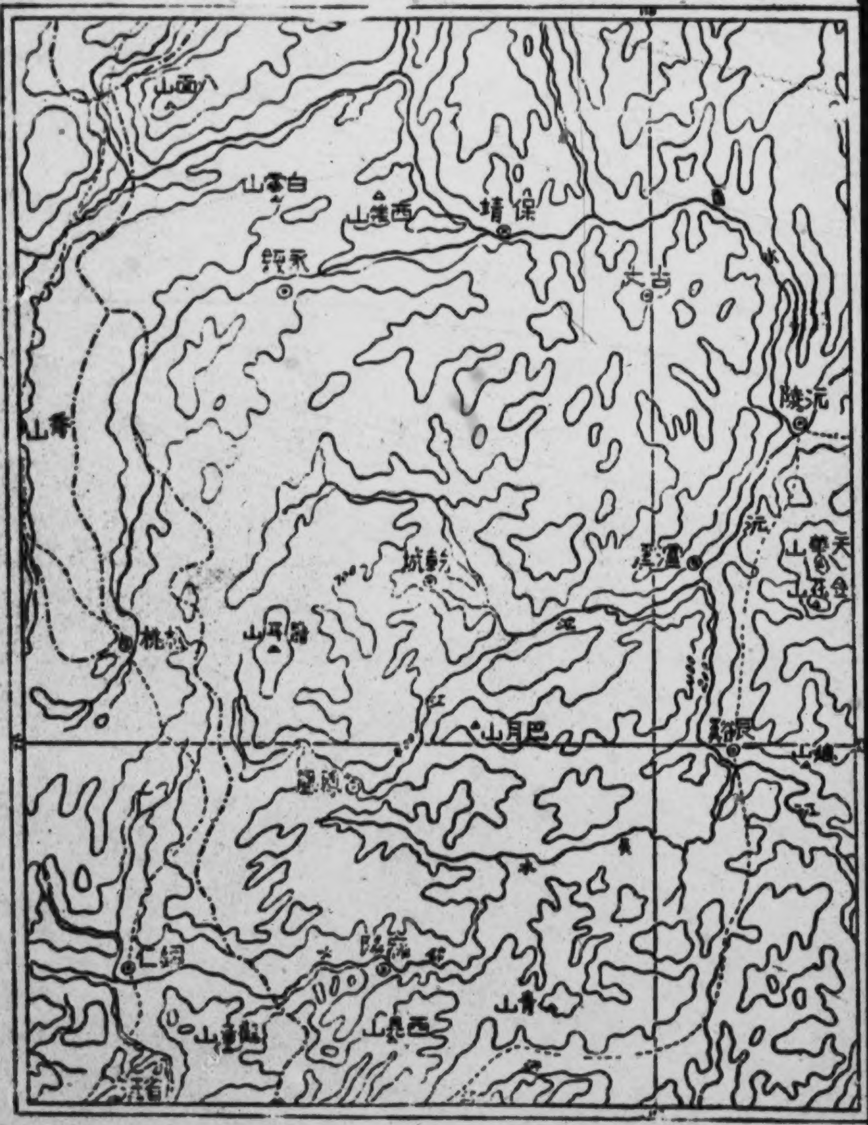
八面山
白雲山
保靖
永綏
古丈
沅陵
瀘溪
乾城
臘耳山
松桃
辰谿
麻陽
銅仁
西晃山
沅
江
水

Illus. 2. Sketch Map of the Topography of the Mjao Frontier

Illus. 4. Wu-ch'ao Ho River at Ta-shu-p'o, Feng-huang. (The steep bank on the left shore is the La-erh tableland.)

Illus. 5. Kao-yen Ho, a source of the T'ung Ho River.

/29 cont./

133 Szu-ma Ch'i from the south at Szu-ma-ch'i-k'ou. Further east it receives the T'an Ch'i from the north at T'an-ch'i-k'ou. Continuing east it reaches Nung-t'an, where it is joined by the Wan Shui, which rises in the Pa-tou Shan mountains and flows around Szu-tu and Wu-tu, reaching Mao P'ing to join with the Ma-wang Ch'i

Illus. 6. Ta-lung-t'ung waterfall, a source of the T'ung Ho River. (180 kung ch'ih.)

/29 cont./

133 and the Sang Ch'i from the southeast. Again flowing eastward it receives the Hsi Ch'i from the north at Hsi-ch'i-pao. Flowing still further east it receives the Su-mu Ch'i tributary at Su-mu-ch'i-k'ou. Further east it empties into the Yüan Chiang at Lu-ch'i-ch'eng.

Next in importance is the tributary of Yu Chiang, the Sung-t'ao Ho, which encircles the northwest of the Miao area. This waterway has two sources: one rises to the southwest of P'ing-t'ou-szu in Kweichow, flowing north of T'ai-p'ing-Ying, where it turns northeastward; the other rises in the northwest of P'ing-t'ou-szu, flowing eastward from the west and merging with the southern branch and continuing east. After receiving the waters of the San-pu-kuan, it passes through Yün-lo-t'un and is joined by the Chang-kuei Ch'i and the Ma-kan Ch'i tributaries at Sung-t'ao-ch'eng. Crossing Kao-p'ing /plain?/ it enters the Yung-sui region and receives the Mi-no C'hi tributary at Mi-no. Flowing north it is joined by the waters of the Mu-shu Ho at Mu-shu-hsin. Further north it receives the Ch'ao-shui Ch'i at Ch'ao-shui ch'i-t'ang Continuing north it reaches La-erh Pao, where it is joined by the Ta-mao Ch'i, which combines the waters of the Kang Ch'i, the Lao-mu Ch'i, the Lung-t'uan Ch'i, the I-ch'i Ch'i, and the Kai Ch'i flowing from the northeast. Flowing northeast it enters the Yung Ching region, reaching Ku-t'ung-hsin, where the Ku-t'ung Ch'i tributary joins it. Further northeast it reaches Hsi-ho-k'ou and empties into the Yu Chiang.

A very important river in the southern part of the Miao area is the Hao-lo Ch'i, a tributary of the Ch'en Chiang. This river rises among the Miao villages /chai/ at Yen-yao, Kweichow, and flowing south then east it reaches the Shuang-p'en Ch'i, which joins it. Further east it flows to Liao-chia-ch'iao and Lao T'ien-p'ing, where several streams of Lao-t'ien-p'ing join it. Still eastward it flows to Mi-yen-ts'un /village/, where the Mi-yen Ch'i flows from the west to join it. Turning northeast it flows to Shuang Chiang K'ou, where the Shui-t'ien Ch'i joins it from the north. Further east it

/29 cont./
133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the
Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from
the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-
yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the
Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). — Topographically, the Miao
area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern
section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern
section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the
plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there
are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds
[192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing
/a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among
these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-
huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level
area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width
[312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drink-
ing water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai
[433] (Illus. 7),[1] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li
north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has
[241] several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795,
[648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose
family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there.
The above two places are the largest among the basins on the
plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/.
[312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells
being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the
Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is
Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight
or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle
in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never
[312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are
irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized
Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao
[361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and
wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

[1] [see cat. 116, p55 - ANALYST]

M /30 cont./
133 In the region where the rivers flow down, the hills are less
steep than in the plateau area. Both sides of the rivers can be
made into terraced fields, and the water from the rivers used
M for irrigation. Further, the rivers are navigable by small craft,
[487] thus making communication relatively easier, and the Chinese
M have migrated here.
131 The two regions referred to above can be demarcated by
648 the ruins of the boundary wall erected under the Ming dynasty.
Miao Fang-pei Lan, Shu Wang Lu /Detailed Old Records from
C the M.F.L./, states: "In the forty-third year of the Wan Li
712 reign period (1615 A.D.) the Ping-pei Ts'an-cheng /Administra-
648 tive Officer of Military Preparedness/ at Ch'en and Yüan rivers,
563 Ts'ai Fu-i, reported that because the garrison outposts were so
scattered and the Miao roads so rugged, it was difficult to defend
against Miao incursions. He requested the appropriation of some
40,000 in gold currency for the erection of an earth wall, from
T'ung-jen down to Pao-ch'ing, winding along the mountains
and the streams for more than 300 li. Thus the border was made
relatively secure. Again, during the second year of T'ien Chi
(1622 A.D.), the assistant commissioner of the circuit of the
garrison at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Hu I-hung ordered Teng Tsu-
yü, a guerrila commander, to add another 60 li of wall from
Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying." The ruins of this wall start
from Wang-hui-ying and T'ing-tzu-kuan in the southeast corner
of the Miao area and proceeds northeast, ending at Hsi-ch'üeh-
ying, dividing the Miao area into the southeast and the north-
west regions. The building of the boundary wall under the Ming
dynasty was not intentionally based on the topography but rather
in accordance with the limits of Chinese colonization in the
Miao area. The Chinese first occupied the region where the
rivers flowed down in the southeast, and the Miao retreated to
the La-erh plateau, defending themselves behind its natural
advantages. The Chinese and the Miao were already divided
M according to topography (Illus. 2, 8)[1] some 300 years ago. The
131 frontier wall of that time, although serving as a boundary line
648 between the Chinese and the Miao, became at the same time a

[1] [see cat. 116, pp48e and 56a - ANALYST]

Illus. 7. Ya-pao-chai in a small basin on the La-erh-shan plateau (855 kung ch'ih above sea level).

2:Ling & Ruey--56a E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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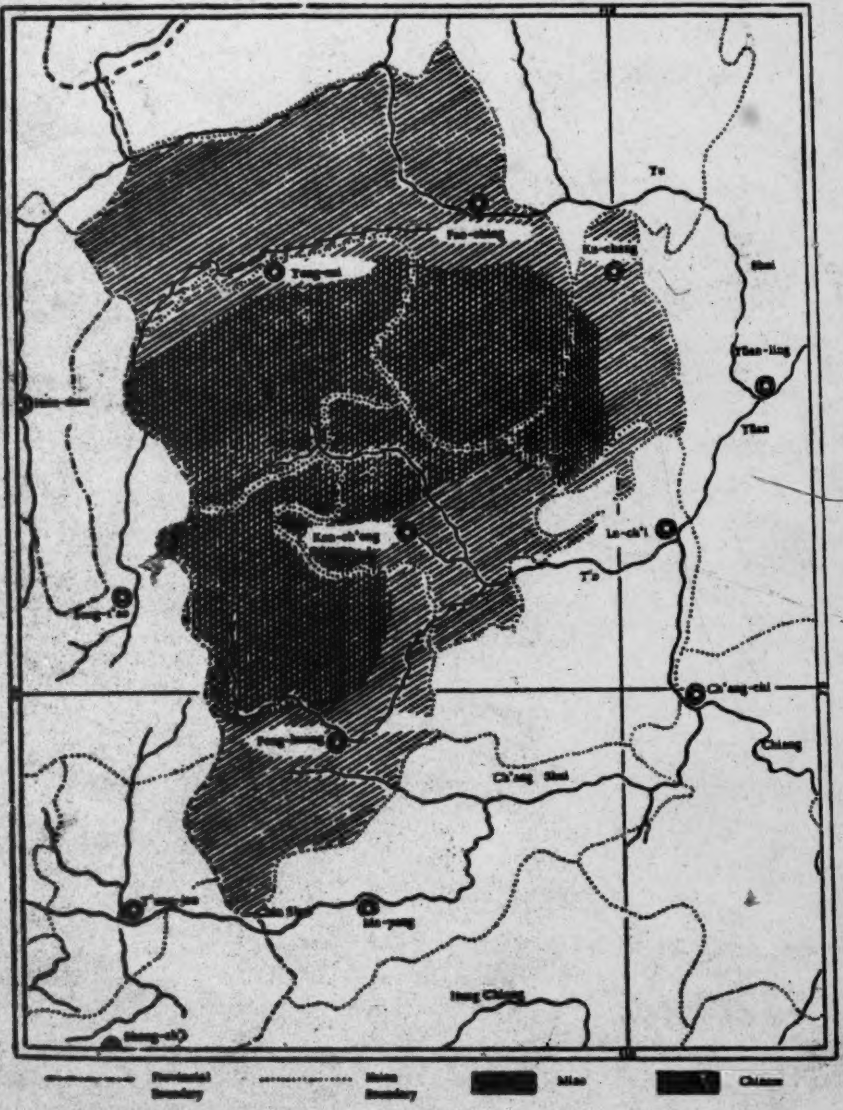

Pao-ching
Yung-sui
Ku-chang
Tu
Shui
Yüan-ling
Yüan
Lu-ch'i
T'o
Kan-ch'eng
Sung-t'ao
Ch'ang-chi
Chiang
Feng-huang
Ch'ang Shui
Ma-yang
Provincial Boundary
Hsien Boundary
Miao
Chinese

Illustration 2. Map of the Distribution of the Chinese and Miao in the Five Hsien of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, Yung-sui, Pao-ching, and Ku-chang.

M C 487 /41 cont./
li to Ta-pi-liu, another ten li to Ch'e-ch'i, and 30 more li to Ho Ch'i. From the mouth of the river to Ho Ch'i, some 130 li, the waterway is known as the Wu Ch'i River. Above Ho Ch'i it divides into two branches, south and north: the northern branch, known as the Wan-yung Chiang, runs ten li to Chang-p'ai-chai, where it again divides into two more branches, one flowing westward as the Wan-yung Chiang proper, passing through Ta-chuang and Hsiao-chuang for 50 li to Kan-ch'eng. The other branch, which flows northwestward, is known as Kao-yen Ho, and goes 15 li to Chen-ch'i-so, 15 li to Hsien-chen-ying, ten li to Chen-ning-ying, 20 li to P'ing-lang, five li to Wei-che, eight li to Hsün-chien-p'ing, 20 li to Kao-yen-hsin. The branch flowing south of Ho Ch'i, known as the T'o Chiang, flows through Ch'i-k'ou, Chiang-chün-yen, and Mao Chou to Lao-hu-k'ou for about 60 li, and then passing Lao-hu-k'ou it flows from Mu-lung-ti Chiang to Feng-huang for another 70 li.

The parts of the T'ung Ho navigable by small craft are: the Wu Ch'i, 113 li; the Wan-yung Chiang, 60 li; /Illus. 16,
M 17 on pp. 42, 43/ /44/ the Kao-yen Ho, 93 li; and the T'o
C Chiang, 130 li; totaling 296 li in all. These river courses
487 are difficult to navigate and are not passable all year round.
502 Miao Fang-pei Lan in the section on roads and waterways says:
133 "This river (the T'ung Ho) has precipitous cliffs standing up like daggers, strange rocks clustering like a forest of spears, and rioting cataracts. Through slight negligence a boat can be crashed into pieces. It dries up in autumn and winter, causing difficulty in transportation. It is only in summer when mountain streams rush down from the Miao villages, that small craft may ply here and there. However, the cliffs and rocks become more dangerous as the water rises. Once a sandbank is reached, a day is often spent in lifting the boat across to deep water. The difficulty of crossing such banks is twice as much as in other rivers."

M a 487 The Ch'en Chiang waterway starts from the city of Ch'en-ch'i-hsien and joins the Lo-hao Ch'i /tributary/ at Kao-ts'un

[text continues on p.70]

/54 cont./

241 agriculture. After our investigation on the spot we realized
[114] that this account was all wrong. 'What is said in the Gazetteer
refers only to one of the methods used by the Miao to cultivate.
[133] mountainous terrain. The Miao area is all mountainous, hence
[243] there is much hilly land and few fields. The usual crops are
various cereals, mainly planted on mountain slopes. The
inclined field cannot take fertilizers. After three or four years
of cultivation, the soil becomes barren. It becomes necessary
to use the rotation method, to abandon it and pick new land
to develop. This allows the old barren ground to recover its
fertility. After three or four years a lush undergrowth gives it
the appearance of wild land, which to the Miao indicates the
recovery of the land's fertility. When spring comes the Miao
fell the trees and brush, let them dry in the field, and then
set fire to them. The charred remains and ash are left in the
field to be used as fertilizer. This is the so-called slash and
burn cultivation, otherwise known as to-yü /"to slash fields
which are in the third year of cultivation/, and the field is
called a field planted by fire or yü field. In the first year of
cultivation the yield is often doubled. The mixed cereals
[243] planted includes grain for the most part, maize, /55/ buckwheat,
and kaoliang; still next hemp, beans, and pearl barley.
[221] The sowing is generally done in April and May, and the harvesting
in August and September.

243 Besides the yü fields the Miao also plant plots of land
[221] which can be flooded for growing rice. Rice grown in flooded
fields is transplanted in April and May and is harvested in
August and September. The Miao area is very mountainous
and there are very few level areas for rice fields. They are
found in small number only in the small basins in the mountains
and along the banks of streams and rivers (Illus. 27), the
rest being terraced fields (Illus. 28, 29). The land of the
[312] basins in the mountains are mainly irrigated by leading water
from springs fed by mountain streams. Water wheels (Illus. 30)
are used for irrigation in the terraced fields along the streams.(1)

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Illus. 27. Wet rice fields in Ya-pao-chai, Feng-huang.

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AES Miao AES

# INTRODUCTION

## *THE PROVINCE OF KWEICHOW*[1]

133 KWEICHOW is a part of the Southwestern Tableland which, as a spur of the great Tibetan plateau, slopes to the south and east away from Tibet (fig. 1, frontispiece). It is bounded on the north by Szechuan, on the east by Hunan, on the south by Kwangsi, and on the west by Yünnan. The structural trend in Kweichow is east and west, with drainage to the south into the West River and to the north and east into the Yangtze River. The province slopes from a height of over 6000 feet in the west to less than 2000 feet in the east. Some valleys lie as high as 4000 feet, and mountain summits reach 9000. S. R. Clarke estimated that most of Kweichow is at least 3000 feet above sea level, the altitude constantly decreasing as one goes east. Wei-ning Lake, in the western part of the province is, he says, 7000 feet above sea level. The altitude of Kweiyang, the capital, is given by G. B. Cressey as 3468.56 feet. There are certainly high mountains in the western part of the province. The traveler going by motor road from Kunming to Kweiyang repeatedly has the feeling of being "on top of the world."

Three mountain ranges cross the province in a general east to west direction, the highest being the Wuling Mountains which form a watershed between the Wu and Yuan rivers. There is an old Chinese saying to the effect that seven-tenths of the province is mountains. It has been characterized as a labyrinth of hills and valleys, an ocean of little hills as seen from many a high hill. These little hills are of every conceivable shape, pyramid and sugar loaf types being very common. Some of the larger valleys are dotted with them; they range the length of others. In parts of the province these hills are bare and barren; in other parts they furnish timber for one of the main industries of the

[3a] [p. 2 blank]

133 province. The valleys are usually narrow and the "plains" seldom large. There are high plains scattered through the mountains, separated from one another by gaps in the hills, or by passes over them. Some of the slopes are terraced, thus increasing the area of cultivable land. The only level valley of any size is that of the Nanning River, in which the capital, Kweiyang, is situated.

There are several rivers in the province, but they become navigable only as they are about to leave the province. The Wu River, which flows through the center of the province, a tributary of the Yangtze, is navigable from Sze-nan; at this point rafts of logs are launched. The Chang-ki, a branch of the Yuan, which flows into Tung-t'ing Lake, Hunan, is navigable at Sze-chow. It joins the main stream at Chen-yuan in the eastern part of the province. San-kioh is at the head of navigation on the Liu. Thus only in the extreme east and southeast of the province is there any river traffic. The fall of rivers is usually steep and there are many stretches of rapids. Springs and streams water the mountain valleys and cascade to lower levels by many a lovely waterfall. In some places streams, only fordable in certain parts, disappear into the earth and come out again a considerable distance away.

491 When S. R. Clarke wrote of the province there were no roads over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven. Everything had to be carried by coolies or on the backs of ponies and mules. Four narrow old roads leading to the several provinces by which Kweichow is bounded all met at the capital, Kweiyang. The typical highways were narrow trails, paved with cobble stones or slabs of rock (fig. 14, *a*, *b*, *d*). Gradually roads were built following these main routes. The position of the province as a link be-

"China Provincial Atlas and Geography," 1935; Clarke, 1911.

**General Description.** Ting-shui-pa (see 131
fig. 4) is a plateau divide about two miles
long and half as wide, with mountains and hills 133
surrounding it. Miss Li said that they told 103
her they called the mountains to the north
Cat and Phoenix Mountains, those to the west
Elephant and Running Horse mountains, those
to the south the Mountain of the Nobleman,

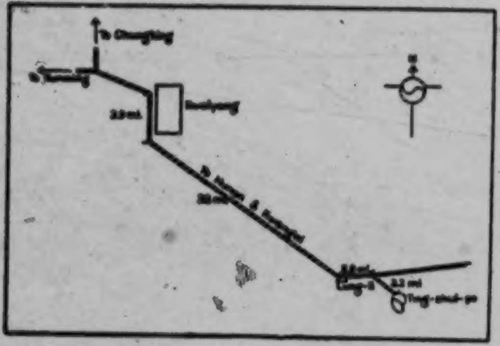

Fig. 3. Ting-shui-pa in relation to Kweiyang.

and those to the east the Mountain of the
Pig's Mouth. Our first glimpse of the valley
was from the wayside shrine at the top of a
pass reached by a gradual, winding ascent
from the motor road. About a mile from the 131
pass the road led between high hedges which
screened the village vegetable gardens and the 133
large pond from the road. Beyond the pond
lay the Cowrie Shell Miao village of Yang- 361
chia-sai (Yang family stockade). The stone
road went on. At the further edge of a wood
it divided, one fork going straight on into
the other part of the valley separated from
this one by low hills and beyond to the south.
The other ran between the other side of the
wood on its left and a group of grave mounds
on its right. These grave mounds and bamboo
thickets separated the road from a meadow
where buffalo bullfights were held. Yet a little
way beyond the village another turn, to the

361 right, brought one to a cluster of seven Chinese houses about the Huang family temple. Four-tenths of a mile beyond was a Chung-chia village. In the other part of the valley were smaller villages of Cowrie Shell Miao and Chung-chia and the home of the large, extended family of Chinese of whom the *lien pao* official was a member.

133 The rest of the valley, except for one deep
cleft, was made up of knolls and depressions
241 and given over to fields in which rice was
312 the chief fall crop, with tobacco, chillies,
311 beans, maize, and millet playing a minor role,
and wheat, broad beans, peas, and rape were
137 the spring ones. Vegetable gardens, in which were grown a continous succession of vegetables, occupied the lower slopes of the nearest hills. There were bamboo and nut trees in the wood and edible bamboo in the thickets about the village. A little stream ran through that part of the valley in which Yang-chia-sai lay and through the cleft mentioned above reached the end of the valley toward Lung-li, where it became a waterfall. A second stream watered the other part of the valley and flowed toward the south. From the springs and streams water was carried for household use. The presence of these sources of water and the pond gave the valley its name of Ting-shué-pa, meaning "divide where water is assured." The bamboo thickets and the wood furnished timber and faggots, both timber and bamboo being used for the construction of buildings and many articles of household and farm use. The mountains were a source of fuel in the form of faggots, grass, weeds, and fern. From them the women brought grass for raincapes and food for cattle at certain seasons of the year. At others the children took ponies, cattle, and water buffalo to the mountains for grazing. All those in the vicinity — Miao, Chung-chia, and Chinese — made use of springs and mountains, but the various groups kept fairly separate.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

175 as *Sen Miao*. The various tribes within the Empire, and those on the border, are divided into *Sen* and *Su* tribes. *Sen* means "raw," and *Su* means "ripe" or "cooked." The independent tribes are "raw," and those who acknowledge Chinese sovereignty are "cooked." There are no Miao, or any other tribe in Kweichow now, who claim to be independent. The last vestiges of independence passed away forty years ago when the latest Miao rebellion of any importance was put down after years of mutual slaughter. Talking recently with a Miao who remembered that time, he said, "Our people were worse than the Chinese and killed more women and children than they did."

133 Most of Kweichow is at least three thousand feet above sea-level, the altitude constantly increasing as the traveller goes west. Weining Lake, in the north-west, a large sheet of water fifty miles long and in some places nearly twenty miles broad, is 7000 feet above sea-level. We saw no boats and there appears to be no traffic on the lake. The hills are not exceedingly high, but they are everywhere. The province is a labyrinth of hills and valleys, and probably not one-fifth of the surface of it is cultivated or cultivable.

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When the traveller reaches the top of a high

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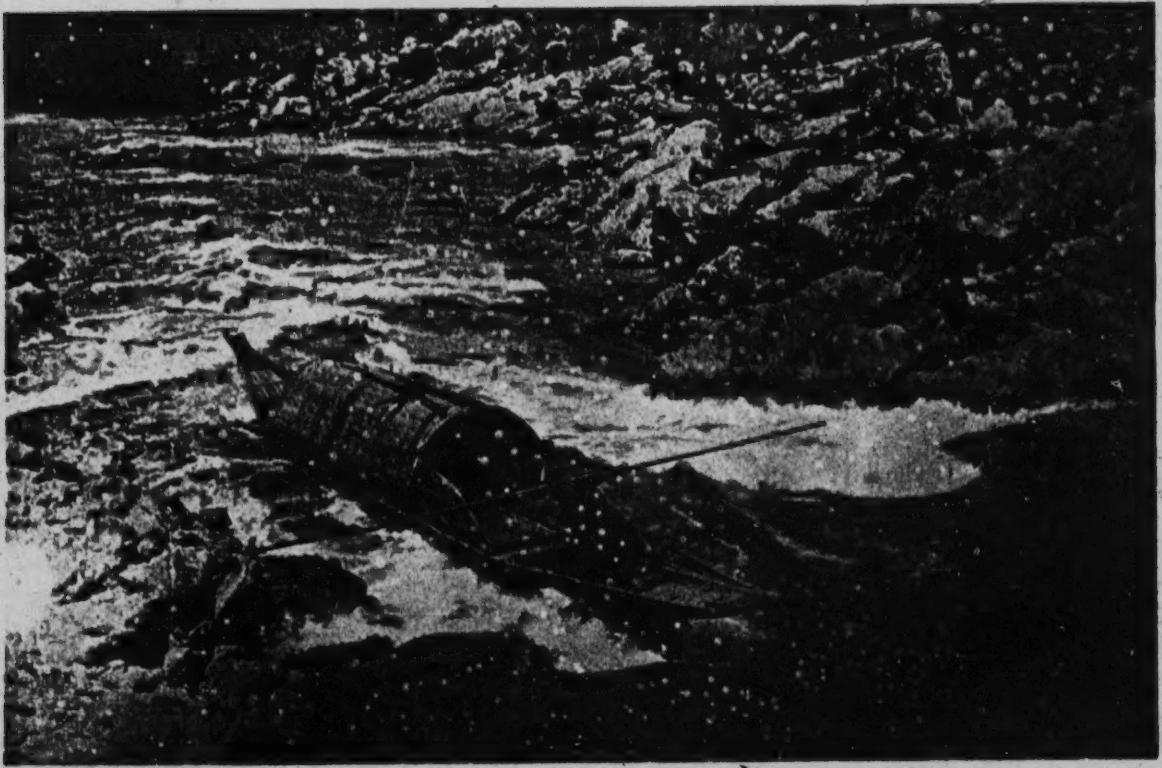
?: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

[facing p.7]



ASCENDING A RAPID ON THE PANGHAI RIVER.

hill and looks about him, he frequently sees all /33
around, as far as the eye can reach, an ocean of little hills, sometimes hundreds of them. They are of every conceivable shape, among which the pyramid and sugar-loaf shape are very common. Most of these hills are bare and barren, and there is little timber to be seen. The valleys between are for the most part narrow, and what might be called the plains are seldom very long or very broad. There are innumerable caves and caverns among these hills, some of which are very large. In some places streams, only fordable in certain parts, disappear into the bowels of the earth, and come out again a considerable distance away. There are many waterfalls to be seen, some of which after a heavy fall of rain are magnificent.

There are very few waterways in Kweichow, /33
as most of the streams only become navigable 487
as they are leaving the province. The longest navigable river, the Chang-ki, is a branch of the Yüan River, and joins what is called the main stream from Chenyüan at the city of Kienyang Hun in Hunan. This stream, which flows through a region occupied for the most part by Heh Miao, is navigable when in flood almost to Tuyün, and all the year round as far as Kai-li in the Tsingpinghsien district. The boat-

[FACING p.8]

HOUSE BOAT APPROACHING A RAPID ON THE RIVER BELOW YUANCHOWFU, HUNAN.

*To face page 8.*

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7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

133 men on this river are nearly all Heh Miao, who
487 convey goods to and from Hungkiang in Hunan. This stream, however, in consequence of long and difficult rapids, is only navigable for small boats, whereas the Chenyüan branch is navigable for river boats of the largest size. This lack of waterways, and the fact that there is no road, as far as we know, in the province over which a wheeled vehicle could be drawn or driven, makes the conveyance of produce a costly under-
482 taking. Everything has to be carried by coolies, or on the backs of ponies and mules, and consequently it doubles the cost of rice to carry it one hundred and twenty miles.

162 The population of Kweichow is probably between seven and ten millions. In speaking of numbers, in the absence of trustworthy census returns, it must be understood that we are giving opinions formed from our own observation, influenced by the estimates of others who are as well qualified to judge as ourselves. In this way, then, we put the population of the province at between seven and ten millions, and reckon that one-half of these are Chinese and the rest mostly Miao and Chung-chia.

To a traveller passing through Kweichow, the Chinese would appear to greatly outnumber the non-Chinese. This is because the Chinese

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

123 of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

## I. INTRODUCTION

133 487 South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

161 131 This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe, includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They are found as far north as Kunghsien 珙縣 and Ch'angning 長寧, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

142 These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in statue and in having a less evident epichanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

192 197 Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke[1] I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.[2]

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1. S. R. Clarke: Among the Tribes of South West China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.

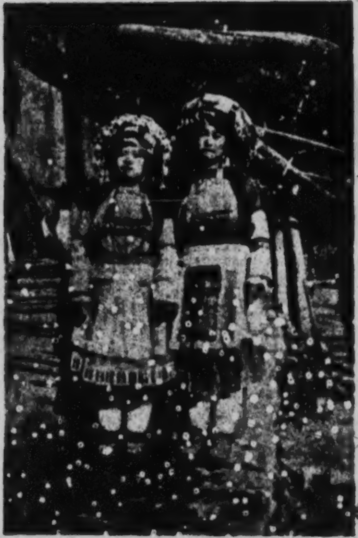
2. H. R. Davies: Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[Facing p.40]

Ch'uan Miao aborigine children.

*Photo by David C. Graham, 1934.*



Ch'uan Miao girls in northern Yunnan wearing embroidered clothing.

A view in the Ch'uan Miao region on the Szechwan-Yunnan border.

*Photo by D. C. Graham.*

[2 cont.]
175 remain are the Chinese (Han), the Manchus, the Mongols, the
563 Moslems, the Tibetans and the Miao-I. According to scholars
who had made studies in the genealogies of both the ancient and
modern races, they are all descendants of Emperors Yen [Shên
Nung] and Huang [Huang Ti]; they belong to the same branch
and share the same origin. Due to geographical barriers and
environmental causes there came into being many kinds of ethnic
groups with different habits and customs.

We are here concerned with the origin and history of the
101 Miao and the I, two of the oldest tribes in China. In early
175 Chinese classics they were both referred to as the "Miao-Man"
[563] [Miao savages], but actually they were two distinct ethnic groups
who should not be confused. The I were originally the aborigines
inhabiting the border regions of Yunnan, Kweichow and Kwangsi
in the southwest since very early times up to the present. As
for the present-day Miao, they were often erroneously taken as
the "San-Miao," which, however, was the name of a state and
not the name of an ethnic group. The ancient ethnic name of
the Miao was "Li," while the name of "Miao" as used today is a
phonetic borrowing from the word "Man" first used in the Han
Dynasty, and is not the "Miao" of the "San-Miao." During the
time of the Five Emperors [Pre-historical period] this tribe lived
in the lower middle reaches of the Yangtze River, and later due
to an increase in their number and the comparative fertility of
the Yellow River banks, they were led by their chieftain, Ch'ih
yu, northward across the Yellow River, and came into immediate
conflict with the Chinese there. They were expelled by Huang
Ti [Yellow Emperor] after having suffered great setbacks, and
later were again pacified during the Chou Dynasty. When Ch'u
[a feudal state] became strong, the Miao tribe was also invaded
and assimilated by the Chinese. At the time when Chin and
Ch'u subjugated Pa and Shu in the south, the entire Yangtze
valley was acculturated by the Chinese. The remnant Miao tribe
then gradually went southward to Hunan, Kwang-tung, Kwangsi
and Yunnan, and finally to Kweichow, where they mingled with
●[133] the native I tribe, lived in the high mountains and deep valleys,
and became entirely segregated from the world outside.

131 [131 cont.]

101 Hsia-chiang are also known as Kao-p'o Miao. There are quite a [184] few differences in language, costumes and customs between them, but in racial affinity they are the same as the Hê Miao. The area distribution of the Hê Miao in Kweichow is rather extensive, and the hsien districts in the southeastern part of the province all have traces of the Hê Miao. Under the general name of Hê Miao, there are a number of sub-divisions, which, according to the writer's findings, include the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Hua-i Miao, the Kao-p'o Miao, the Hê-i Miao, the Lao-hê Miao, the Pa-chai Miao, the Shan Miao and the Sheng Miao. The Sheng Miao at Hsia-chiang are the most backward and primitive among the Hê Miao.

Hsia-chiang is the farthest hsien district in Kweichow on 131 the border of Kwangsi province. The hsien recently has been 133 divided into three administrative areas, the third area being the concentration point of the Sheng Miao. [132] It is surrounded by a river of one hundred li, forming a natural barrier with the other areas. This river is called by the Sheng Miao "wu-niu," meaning a river belonging to the Sheng Miao. As the Sheng Miao within the third area never mix with the other groups and have always been an independent community, so the Chinese call the third district the Sheng Miao area. It consists of a long and broad strip of territory in the western half of Hsia-chiang, surrounded by high mountain cliffs and huge bamboo groves, forming a continuous and impassable barrier with only two entrances at Tsai-pien and Tung-lang, both narrow paths like sheep intestines. The backwardness of their civilization is due to such geographical isolation and their living conditions cannot be other than primitive.

The area of the Sheng Miao, according to their exaggerated account, extends to 9,000 li, but actually the area is about 200 [sq.] li in length and width. It is a mountainous area, the highest peak at Teng-k'ung-ming-t'ang being 2,000 meters, and the total population about 10,000. The writer has visited altogether 361 101 Sheng Miao villages of all sizes, the largest being Chia-lu, Chia-mien, Chia-ya, Chia-lung, Chia-wêng, Cheng-yu, Tang-wêng and Chüeh-ts'ai-p'ing, with about 100 families in each.

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China

Miao AE5

the middle-ancient sources of the 3rd century B.C. recognized unquestionably descendants of these early (San) Miao still in the Nan Shan (Ch'i-lien Mts.) in Kan-su, a northern region of mountain steppes. Truly the entire economy, clothes, way of living, and social organization is derived from this type of landscape, - mountains, mountain-steppes, or steppe. The Miao of the plain are not really Miao any longer; for on cultural and economic grounds they must become T'ai or Chinese. 174

Without denying the validity of his statement that the early ancestors of the Miao may have been steppe or mountain-steppe dwellers, it ought to be pointed out that philologically, the grass radical over a field in the character Miao does not necessarily refer to steppe or grassland, and, in fact, may not refer to such vegetation or landscape at all. The Tz'u-Hai Encyclopedia[35] gives one definition of Miao as rice-plant shoots before the rice matures. Before maturity, rice plants are called Miao; after maturity they are called Ho. Miao also is given as an ancient place-name north of the Yellow River in Honan. While the vegetation here may be steppe where the land is not planted, it is hardly mountainous or even hilly. The K'ang-hsi Dictionary refers to a classical line of poetry during the Chou or Han period which freely translated reads "Large rats, do not eat up my tender plant shoots (Miao)". Thus, this character appears to picture cultivated fields rather than wild grass-lands. The danger inherent in this sort of evidence is perceivable.

Eickstedt said that many Miao in talking to him raised their hands in horror at the very thought of settling on the plains, and, no doubt, as he points out, if we take their general cultural situations, the Miao, Fan and Ch'iang belong on the cold mountain heights, in contrast to the Wu-man and Liao on the warm slopes, with the T'ai people in the hot, steaming valleys. But he appears to be going too far in saying that from the foregoing, i.e., his preceding description, it follows that around the 2nd Millennium B.C., the San Miao were found neither in the rice plains of the Yang-tzu as inhabitants of Ch'u nor as solely inhabiting the mountains of distant Kuei-chou but that they were partly or solely to be found in the cool steppes or steppe mountains of the north.[36] The Miao preferences may merely reflect the historical conditioning of a habitat forced upon them. 114 133

Having viewed one side of the argument, let us examine the other side. In the first place, according to Chiang Ying-

155: Abadie--239 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Mioo AE5

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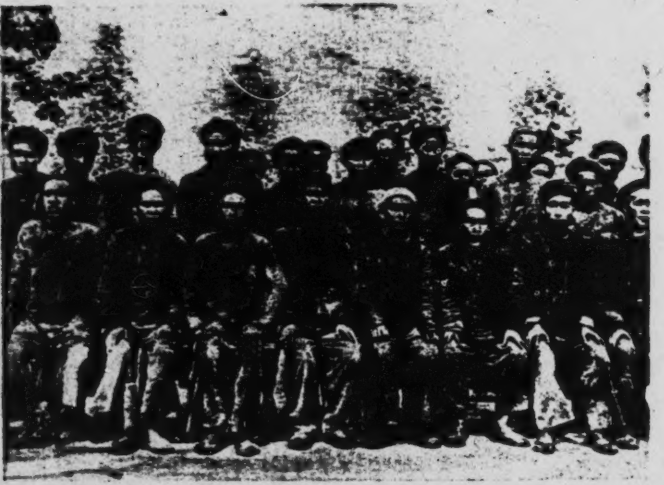

204. Group of "Méo" Notables. "Siao-phay" (Village Chiefs of Region of Pha-Long).

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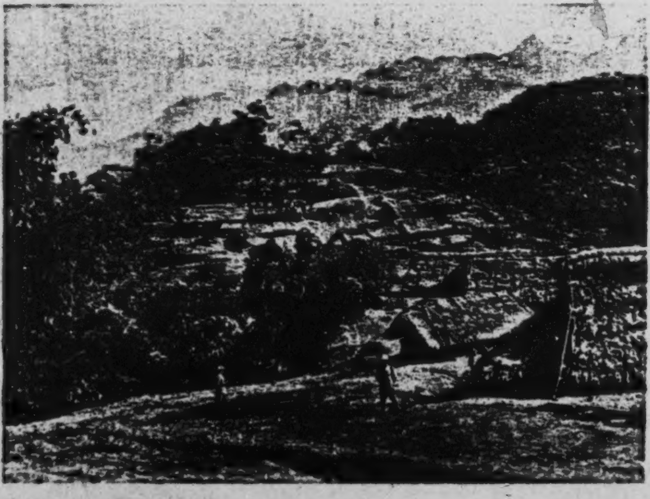

445. "Méo" Village (Region of Pha-Long).

155: Abadie--242 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[166]

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90. Frontier Post of Pha-Long ("Méo" Country).

347. Ho-to-tchay ("Méo" Village).

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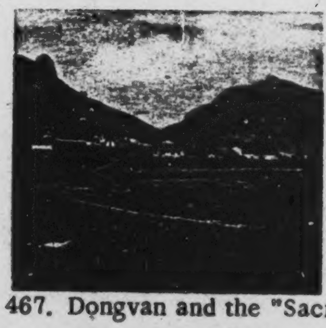
184. Opium Field Cultivated by the "Méo" on the Soil of Irrigated Rice Fields.



467. Dongvan and the "Sacred Wood."

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/25 cont./

A 131 vicinity of the Mekong mountain gorge, and that large groups are settled in the eastern parts of Thailand and Indochina, especially east and north of the Mekong in upper Laos. The same author further asserts that many Akha entered Kengtung from the east by way of the Mekong Valley.

A 131 174 In addition to the ethnic groups in the eastern part of Thailand, I have found some in the north. According to my information, based on their traditions, these Akha of northern Thailand migrated south from the mountains north of Kengtung and, by way of Söma, Kengtung, Buta, Batya, and Bako, finally reached the Doy Tung, which, as a primitive mountain massif, projects out into the river valleys, and the Kaye, a mountain west of the Doy Tung. These regions, in addition to the calcareous mountains east of Nan, may be regarded as the southernmost habitation area of the Akha at present.

Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are in the midst of a migration whose main direction, aside from local deviations, is from north to south.

/26/

## Chapter 4

## Description of the Country

M 131 133 Today the Meau occupy parts of South and West China, of North China, Indochina, northern Thailand, and, here and there, northeast Burma. One would be inclined to assume that under these circumstances the character of the land would be very diverse. Actually, however, it is not, since these mountain tribes do not settle below a certain altitude. M 133 137 In almost all cases, therefore, we find extensive hilly areas, generally covered with tropical monsoon forests, which, like the European deciduous forests, lose most of their leaves at a given season (the dry season). M 132 Two strongly marked seasons of the year are distinguished: the cold rainy season lasts from April to November; the dry season prevails during the remaining months. During the rainy season there are quite low temperatures and snowstorms, especially at higher altitudes and in the north.

/26 cont./

137 The flora varies according to the fertility of the soil.
134 The forested mountains of Farther India are densely covered
with vegetation, whereas the highland of Kweichow is described
as a barren open, and hilly land, whose soil composition is
such that only one-fifth of the country seems to be suitable for
human habitation (1). Kengtung is similar in appearance to
133 Kweichow. The state lies in the extreme eastern part of Burma
and borders on Yunnan in the north, on Thailand in the south;
on the west it is bounded by the Salween River, on the east by
the Mekong. The province of Kengtung, with its capital of the
same name, is a mighty plateau, often bare and rocky, which
/27/ rises from altitudes of 300 meters in the area of the
Salween to altitudes of 3,000 meters between the Salween and
the city of Kengtung.

137 Where the area has been inhabited by mountain tribes
[241] for a long time, the lofty forest has disappeared, since the hoe
culture with the burning of clearings during the short fallow
period prevents the growth of larger trees. The region is therefore
completely covered with low, dense bush forest, in which
fast-growing types of wood are greatly predominant.

361 It is a very peculiar fact that, as was pointed out, the
mountain tribes seem to be bound to a definite altitude and
cannot be persuaded to go below a certain altitude limit. This
fact is often confirmed in the literature. Lajonquière (1), for
instance, points out that the Meau select the terrain quite
high in the mountain massifs at the foot of rocks as places for
their hamlets: Abadie (2) likewise reports similarly. We are
[101] indebted to Credner (3) for a more detailed account: "Above

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1. Von Eickstedt, V, p. 53.

1. II, p. 305.

2. Page 158.

39: Bernatzik--354 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Akha A04
Miao AE5 ●

# Detail Map
# of the Northern Section of the Bernatzik Expedition to Farther India

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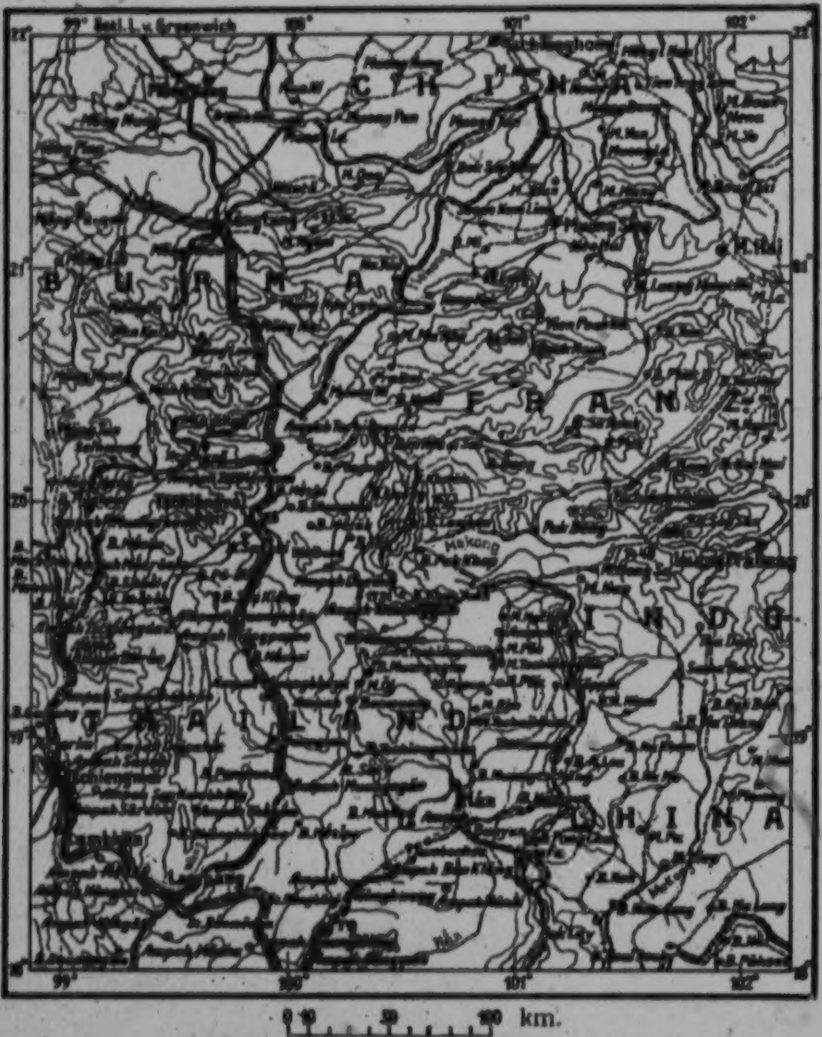

99° östl. L. v. Greenwich
100°
101°
102°
22°
21°
20°
19°
C H I N A
B U R M A
F R A N Z
I N D O
T H A I L A N D
C H I N A
Mekong
0 10 50 100 km.

Route
Highways
Footpaths
Railroad
Roads
State boundaries
Contour lines from 500 to 500 meters

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39: Bernatzik--565 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/420/

## Chapter 22

## Communication

133 487 [137] The mountainous land in northern Thailand, cut up by steep valleys, is covered with dense primeval forest; treeless or stony slopes are rare. This gives the difficult mountain paths, which almost exclusively represent the lines of communication, a different character than we customarily associate with the idea of a mountain path. If one of these paths in northern Thailand leads across a brook, a mighty tree trunk usually forms the only [491] bridge. Other facilities are unknown; there are no suspension bridges or corduroy roads. To be sure, deep streams which, for lack of a bridge, one would have to swim across are also absent. Nor are there streams which would make navigation possible. If the "road" in a valley follows a stream downward, then the bed of the stream is at the same time the path. Regular communication is therefore possible only during the dry season, whereas during the rains, the rising, torrential mountain streams isolate the individual villages.

487 In Indochina the routes of communication built and maintained by the Meau hardly seem to differ from those in Thailand, for Savina (1) writes concerning them: "Never yet has a Meau taken the trouble to make or to improve a path in [461] the forest with a hatchet." According to my experience, however, carelessness or laziness is not the cause of this condition of the lines of communication, as Savina apparently assumes but rather the generally great burden of work of the Meau. Every individual among the Meau in northern Thailand gives the impression of being burdened beyond his physical capacity. [361] Moreover, the Meau live in the smallest of villages; the paths are therefore little used and rapidly become overgrown again.

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1. II, p. 181.

39: Bernatzik--358 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/261 cont./

166 bellowing, and cheering can be heard for miles. Consequently
484 it seldom happens that the advanced guard encounters game,
for the larger animals of the forest have usually taken cover
in plenty of time. During the migration, a playful or childlike
[157] impulse for destruction against the forest is also expressed, which
leads the people to damage plants and trees out of sheer wanton-
[824] ness. For example, I never saw a Meau pass a rubber liana /262/
without cutting the plant with the chopping knife merely for the
pleasure of seeing the juice ooze out.

361 For the choice of the settlement site, the altitude is of
133 fundamental significance. One can even say that the settlements
of the Meau are actually limited to certain altitudes. I myself
did not find any Meau village below 1,200 meters in altitude,
and other authors (1), too, are struck by the settlement pattern,

1. Credner, II, p. 138.

limited to certain altitudes, of the various mountain and forest
peoples in Thailand.

361 Within these altitude limits, the Meau carefully seek out
a suitable slope. They never build a village on a level surface,
a saddle, or on the peak of a mountain. They most prefer to
choose a place which lies just below the crest line of a mountain
range.

In territories in which the Meau must reckon with hostile
influences, they lay out their dwelling sites so as to make access
as difficult as possible. Thus, Marabail (2) writes of the Meau

2. Page 133.

of Tonkin: "They choose the steep inclines of the mountains
for their dwellings... They reach these heights by means of
[417] bamboo ladders tied together, which are sometimes three hun-
dred meters long."